## Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-12** 

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PM-04 L-03 INR-07 NSC-05

NSCE-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 SAJ-01 SSO-00 INRE-00 PRS-01

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**JCS** 

USMISSION NATO

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16TH AF/CO

JUSMG/MAAG SPAIN

SECRET MADRID 5813

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, SP, US

SUBJ: SPANISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS - ROUND 9

1. AT PLENARY SESSION MORNING AUGUST 20, MCCLOSKEY PRESENTED THE ANNEX B PROPOSAL WITH AMENDED OFFER TO WITHDRAW THE TANKER WING IN EXCHANGE FOR THE CONTINUANCE OF A SMALL NUMBER OF TANKER AIRCRAFT AT ZARAGOZA. ROVIRA PROMISED TO PRESENT THE CONSIDERED VIEWS OF HIS DELEGATION TOMORROW AT A MORNING PLENARY. HOWEVER, HE MADE THE FOLLOING PRELIMINARY REMARKS:

A) HE ASKED FOR MORE PRECISE DETAILS ON THE PROJECTED WITHDRAWAL OF THE SSBN'S, WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH WOULD CAUSE DELAY.

B) HE WONDERED WHETHER OUR REQUEST TO HAVE NPW PORT CALLS WAS A CONDITION OF OUR WILLINGNESS TO WITH-SECRET

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DRAW THE SSBN'S.

C) HE ASKED FURTHER WHETHER SHIPS MAKING PORT CALLS WOULD INCLUDE SUBMARINES AND SURFACE SHIPS, AND VESSELS BEARING NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

D) HE OBSERVED THAT EVEN THE RETENTION OF A SMALL NUMBER OF TANKER AIRCRAFT IN SPAIN WOULD CREATE DIFFICULTIES FOR THE GOS. CONSEQUENTLY, THE GOS WOULD PREFER THAT ALL THE TANKERS BE WITHDRAWN.

E) HE OBSERVED THAT EVEN THE RETENTION OF ONE SQUADRON OF F-4'S AT TORREJON WOULD IMPLY "KEEP TORREJON IN AN OPERATIONAL STATUS." HE SAID THE US SHOULD CONSIDER WITHDRAWING ALL FUNCTIONS FROM TORREJON AND CONSIDER POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE STATIONING OF THE F-4'S AND THE AIRLIFT SUPPORT SQUADRON.

2. HE THEN LAUNCHED INTO A LONG EXPOSITION ON THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE ISSUE IN RESPONSE TO MCCLOSKEY'S CAVEAT IN PRESENTING THE ANNEX B PROPOSAL THAT THE US WOULD HAVE TO RECONSIDER THE LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE PREVIOUSLY OFFERED. HE ARGUED THAT:

A) THE GOS DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT AT THIS STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THE COST OF RELOCATING US FUNCTIONS SHOULD REQUIRE A DOWNWARD REVISION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

B) INSTEAD THE USG SHOULD MAKE AN EFFORT TO INCREASE THE CEILING OF 500 MILLION, NOTING FOR COMPARISON THE DISPROPORTIONATELY HIGH LEVELS OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE BEING PROJECTED FOR ISRAEL:

C) THE SPANISH POSITION WAS STRENGTHENED IN THAT "MOST OF THE US ASSISTANCE WE ARE ASKING FOR CONSISTS OF CREDITS GRANTED PRACTICALLY ON NORMAL (COMMERCIAL) CONDITIONS" AND ALSO BECAUSE OF THE SOLID INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL POSITION OF SPAIN.

3. HE THEN REITERATED AN ARGUMENT MADE EARLIER, I.E., THAT THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE SPAIN HAS REQUESTED WILL BE SECRET

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USED TO IMPROVE SPAIN'S CAPABILITY TO MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN DEFENSE AND SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS A "BUSINESS" TRANSACTION OF REQUESTING PAYMENT FOR FACILITIES OFFERED.

4. EARLIER, IN HIS OPENING REMARKS, ROVIRA STATED OFFICIALLY FOR THE FIRST TIME THAT THE OFFICIAL SPANISH POSITION WAS TO SEEK A THREE-YEAR AGREEMENT.HE HAD

MENTIONED THIS TO MCCLOSKEY AT AN INFORMAL MEETING YESTERDAY, EXPLAINING THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WAS OPPOSED TO A THREE-YEAR AGREEMENT BUT HAD TO TABLE IT OFFICIALLY BECAUSE OF PRESSURE FROM THE ARMED FORCES. THE RATIONALE, HE SAID, WAS THE NOTION THAT EUROPE WOULD WELCOME SPAIN INTO NATO AFTER FRANCO'S DEATH, THEREBY MAKING UNNECESSARY ANY LONG-TERM SPANISH -US BILATERAL ACCORD. ON BOTH OCCASIONS MCCLOSKEY COMMENTED THAT HE THOUHT IT WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE FOR THE SPANISH TO SEEK A FORE-SHORTENED NEW AGREEMENT AND URGED THAT THEY RETURN TO THE TRADIDIONAL FIVE-YEAR AGREEMTNT.

5. ROVIRA ALSO RAISED THE LIKELIHOOD OF OUR HAVING TO EXTEND THE NEGOTIATING PERIOD BEYOND THE SEPTEMBER 26 EXPIRATION DATE. HE OBSERVED THAT, AS LONG AS WE WERE ENGAGED IN SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS, THE GOS WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN AGREEING TO NEGOTIATING BEYOND THE EXPIRATION DATE. HOWEVER, THERE WOULD BE NO EXTENSION OF THE AGREEMENT, SINCE THAT MIGHT MERELY ENCOURAGE DELAY. THIS MEANS ENTERING THE ONE-YEAR WITHDRAWAL PERIOD AFTER SEPTEMBER 26. OUR READING OF THE OPERATIVE SECTION IN THE AGREEMENT (ARTICLE 39) CONVINCES US THAT WE NEED AT LEAST A WAIVER OF THE REQUIREMENT TO BEGIN WITHDRAWAL IMMEDIATELY AFTET THAT DATE AND THAT SOMETHING MORE BINDING THAN AN ORAL COMMITMENT SHOULD BE SOUGHT. CONSEQUENTLY, MCCLOSKEY PRESENTED ROVIRA WITH SOME WORDING TO BE CONSIDERED FOR ISSUE BY THE GOS WHICH WOULD WAIVE THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL REQUIREMTN UNDER ARTICLE 39 AND ALSO WOULD EXTEND BY AN EQUAL PERIOD OF TIME THE ONE-YEAR PHASE-OUT CLAUSE.

6. MCCLOSKEY ALSO PRESENTED ROVIRA WITH A WRITTEN CLARIFI-CATION OF THE GUIDELINES GOVERNING FMS CREDITS. PERINAT AND TWO MILITARY MEMBERS OF THE SPANISH DELEGATION WERE SECRET

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BRIEFED LATER IN THE DAY BY MEMBERS OF THE USDEL ON THIS ISSUE.

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